

The Christian News-Letter

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Edited by
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DEAR MEMBER,

War is a dangerous business in two senses. Of the danger of defeat everyone is aware. The other equally real danger of being so wholly absorbed in achieving victory as to fail to observe, and so to guard against, what is happening to ourselves is for the most part unperceived. We cannot be wholly engaged in any activity without being changed by it. Quite as important as the question of what we are going to do about the peace, which is occupying everybody's mind, is the question, which few pause even for a moment to ask, what are the assumptions and intentions of those on whom victory has laid the responsibility of planning the future, and how far those assumptions and intentions are calculated to bring about an enduring peace.

DESCENT INTO BARBARISM

One of the merits of Lewis Mumford's *The Condition of Man*, mentioned in the last News-Letter, is that it puts squarely before us the question whether the very evil against which we are fighting has not in insidious ways infected the life of the United Nations themselves. The weakening of inner resistance to the lowering of moral standards may in the long run be as fatal to civilization as the onslaught of barbarous enemies.

To illuminate the trend of things he recalls two incidents on which it is worth while to reflect. When a lame cobbler was attacked in Zabern in 1913 by a German officer because he had not given way to him on the sidewalk, a cry of outrage arose throughout the world, and in Germany itself the Government was censured by the Reichstag. In the last war the Belgian historian, Henri Pirenne, was seized by the Germans and sent to a concentration camp. This attack on a non-combatant and scholar provoked universal protests, which culminated in an appeal by the Pope and the President of the United States, which resulted in M. Pirenne being given a private lodging and allowed to continue his work on a book. To-day the fate of thousands of scholars and scientists and of multitudes of plain people stirs no action. "The world," Mumford concludes, "has regressed so far towards political barbarism that it is scarcely conscious of the depth of its present degradation."

It may be pleaded in extenuation—though this is no excuse for the apathy which prevailed before the war—that Nazi crimes have swollen to such dimensions that the human capacity to react against them has been exhausted, and that the Nazi will to evil is so resolute that nothing except complete military defeat is of the least avail. This does not, however, alter the fact that to become habituated to inhumanity by acquiescence in affronts to the dignity of man, is a state of things that should alarm us. It means that the moral advances which we owe to the courage, patience and persistence of the pioneers of many generations are being swept away. The tides of barbarism threaten to engulf European civilization.

Mr. G. M. Young, writing recently in the *Sunday Times*, recalled some of the things for which this country stood in the days when its influence in world affairs was at its zenith. We held, for example, “that no man should be put in peril of life or liberty except on stated charges, clearly ascertained to be criminal, and that the death penalty should be reserved for the most atrocious offences, and then inflicted reluctantly and under the most careful safeguards against any miscarriage of justice.” This example had the effect of raising standards everywhere. To-day, on the contrary, we read almost daily of some fresh batch of victims in one country or another being sent to the slaughter yard ; sometimes on no charge at all, sometimes on charges which no civilized court of justice would entertain.

Mr. Young knows that recovery from the domination of the fierce and unrestrained passions aroused by war must necessarily be slow. He knows also that between “It is wrong, but I cannot help it, so I shall say nothing ” and “I cannot help it, but it is wrong, and I shall speak out,” a prudent man may hesitate. But, he pertinently asks : “Is it not possible that we may hesitate too long ? And so find ourselves as unprepared for peace as we were for war ? ”

It is in the context of these ideas that two letters, commenting on what was written in C.N.-L. No. 225 on the subject of the bombing of cities, need to be read. The first is from one of the outstanding thinkers among the younger generation of Christians. He writes :—

“What really perplexes me (and others, I think) is this. How is faith in the dignity of the human person to be affirmed in *deed* as well as in *word* and *idea* ? Day by day, as you imply in the concluding comments of your letter, we move towards the acceptance of the power State as the natural background of our life.

“You and I agree, I think, that the increase of undisciplined, unbridled violence, that the development of the war has brought in its train, does constitute an appalling threat to all we still call civilized life. The issue of obliteration bombing has its setting in

the military situation. Certainly—but it also has its context in the relentless movement towards nihilism. You are right to insist that we attend to the strategical and technical actualities, at least by acknowledging their authority, if we cannot grasp their detail. But I do say that we must also attend to the wider context in which this attention has its place.

“Is there not, perhaps, a real danger in our present relativism? We say, and rightly, that we cannot suppose the social context we want, that times do change and social techniques and organization with them, but do we say this all along the line? For instance, in the field of sexual ethics, we seem unwilling to give a merely temporary validity to the institution of the family. Why do we seem convinced that we must make a stand there, and not (let us say) where the very springs of human compassion are being progressively rusted through acquiescence in the hideous techniques of indiscriminate total warfare?”

“This is crude, but I don’t think this issue has been faced. If we are going to be relativists, where is our relativism to stop? The time has surely come when the whole question of the relation of Church and State must be reviewed in a way that does justice to the actualities of the power State. Is it not possible that we may have to make a stand on a moral issue that does effectually write *finis* to an attempt to influence society from within—to the whole conception of Christian *civilization*?”

The second letter is from a leading layman in the Church of Scotland, who writes: “I thought the paragraphs about bombing in the previous number of the C.N.L. were both candid and wise, and it is hard to see that one can go further at present. But the horror of the whole thing grows on one. The habit of unquestioning, or at least uncritical, acceptance of the Government’s judgments on national necessity will be hard to break after so many years of total war. God grant that, if the time comes to say ‘No,’ the Church may recognize it!”

Both writers make it clear that they are deliberately confining themselves to one side of the question. They are not attempting to make a final judgment about the right course in circumstances of overwhelming difficulty. But the side which they emphasize needs far more serious consideration than has been given it under the stress and exigency of war.

Strong protests have been recently evoked by instances in this country of revolting cruelty to children, and the demand is made that offences of this nature should be visited with severer penalties. But the odious nature of the infliction of suffering on helpless children is not diminished or palliated when it is practised on the vastest scale. Nor is there any hope of the restoration of the

rightful respect for human personality until the individual child is seen in his uniqueness as a human person, unqualified by any adjective, German or other.

The question becomes more grave and insistent, if that is possible, when we look into the future. The Americans are reported to be turning out V weapons in large quantities for use against Japan. It may be taken as certain that, so long as the threat of war persists, these new weapons have come to stay. We must look forward to a day when whole cities and their entire inhabitants will be systematically obliterated by the unremitting discharge of missiles from a secure distance.

There is no question relating to man's temporal life that more urgently demands our attention than how the present trend of things may be reversed. Our dilemma is this. Our task is to establish human relations on the basis of respect for the human person and to create a society animated by the spirit of tolerance. But a society of this kind can only grow if it is protected against the aggression of those who are completely indifferent to human life and the value of the individual, and the problem is how these destructive forces can be resisted without recourse to their own methods, and consequently without our succumbing inwardly to that which we are opposing? To this problem we have in our present state of intellectual, social and spiritual development no adequate answer. An answer must at all costs be found if humanity is to survive.

If history is any guide, the present tendencies will only be reversed if a large number of individuals have the moral insight and courage to say at certain points, both in small matters and in large, an unqualified and uncompromising "No." What those points are it is our task to discover. It is the fact that they are directed to this search that makes the letters we have quoted significant. The answer to our question will be found, for the most part, not so much at the level of general principles as in concrete action. Such action will proceed from those who are convinced in the depth of their being that there is no wealth but life, and that the consummation of life is the growth and fulfilment of persons bound to one another in community; from those, that is to say, who are inspired by the revolutionary faith that the primary realities of the life of man are God and neighbour.

PROFESSOR VERMEIL ON GERMANY

An invaluable contribution to the understanding of the problems of Germany has been made by the publication in English of Professor Edmond Vermeil's *Germany's Three Reichs*.¹ The author is

¹ Dakers. 18s.

a professor in the Sorbonne, and the present work is the result of forty years of labour devoted to the study of Germany. It was completed just before the defeat of France and was suppressed by the occupation authorities. Professor Vermeil escaped from France under the German occupation to this country, and while here became a reader and warm friend of the Christian News-Letter. He contributed the letter about life as trial and proof which was quoted in C.N.-L. No. 208.

The great value of this masterly political and cultural survey of German history from its beginnings is the exceptionally clear way in which it relates the rise of Hitler's Reich to the course of development in preceding centuries. The section dealing with the Nazi movement confirms what was said in the last News-Letter, though in Professor Vermeil's view Nazi doctrine represents nothing new, but merely the progressive degeneration of Germany's intellectual tradition.

THE LOSS OF CHURCH LEADERS

We are expressing the feelings of all our readers in extending our sympathy to the Presbyterian Church of England in the loss by enemy action not only of its secretary, Dr. W. T. Elmslie, but simultaneously of all the chief members of the headquarters staff. Dr. Elmslie was known and esteemed far beyond the bounds of the Church to which he belonged. He was chairman of the Department of International Friendship of the British Council of Churches, and if he had lived he would have taken a leading part in re-establishing relations with the Churches of Europe, and the reconstruction of Christian institutions on the Continent. For these services he was peculiarly fitted by long study and wide personal contacts formed and maintained through many years.

We also extend our sympathy to the British Council of Churches in the losses suffered on the same occasion. The Rev. Father Reginald Tribe of the Society of the Sacred Mission, who was killed, was the secretary of the Faith and Order Department of the Council of Churches, and Professor Leonard Hodgson, who was severely injured, has been the central figure in the Faith and Order movement for many years. Other members of the Faith and Order Department and officers of the British Council of Churches had narrow escapes.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF CHRIST

Canon Charles Smyth's *The Friendship of Christ*,¹ the Lent Book of the Bishop of London, now Archbishop of Canterbury, may be warmly recommended to those who are willing to tackle a

¹ Longmans, Green and Co. 2s. 6d.

devotional book of rather stiff quality. It is written primarily for "the mature and practising Christian who desires to strengthen and deepen his experience of our Lord as a real person." The range of the author's acquaintance with the devotional and exegetical writings of all Christian communions and all periods of Christian history is astonishing, and the wealth of his quotations, apt and relevant as they are, does not make for easy reading. But those who have the time and energy to surmount these superficial difficulties will find a rich reward in the keen spiritual insight and deep wisdom of this little volume.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

A considerable dust has blown up about the question to whom family allowances are to be payable—to father or to mother. In the Bill, which comes up for its second reading on March 6th, no wife will have the right to payment unless it is specifically assigned to her by her husband. This reverses the position indicated in the White Paper. Family allowances, even for her own children by a former marriage, will be payable to her husband. Nearly 200 M.P's have already indicated their dissatisfaction with this state of affairs.

In thousands of homes the amount of practical difference made will be very little. Whoever receives the allowance it will be the mother who spends it. The number of fathers who will deliberately misapply the allowance may be small. At the beginning of the last war the family allowance of men in the Services used to be paid to the husband. Only when it was discovered that in a considerable number of cases it never reached the wife was a change made. It is perfectly true that in peace time wives and husbands live under the same roof, but there are careless husbands as well as callous ones. For their wives the only means of obtaining the money for their children is to start legal proceedings against their husbands. This normally costs money, and to bring a husband into court is a thing which any woman would hesitate to do for it would hardly make family relationships smoother.

In all the many families in which income tax is paid the father already receives what is virtually a family allowance in the form of relief from tax. It is greatly to be hoped that our legislators will think again on this matter. Talk of motherhood and its importance and of the respect which is its due is never ending. A family allowance ought to be a token recognition by the state of the services of women who at the moment by an official irony, if their job is the twenty-four hour day one of looking after young children, are described on every form as "ungainfully occupied."

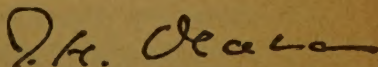
THE SUPPLEMENT

The Supplement in this issue is the first of two on Full Employment. The writer has an exceptional knowledge of the subject, and at the same time approaches it as a convinced Christian. The paper was discussed at a meeting of the Council of the Christian Frontier. It has encountered some strong and rather fundamental criticism. The following Supplement will embody some of this criticism and represent a different approach to the subject. We shall reserve our own comments till a later stage of the discussion. We believe, however, that the present paper provides the right starting-point. The first thing we have to do as Christians is to face its challenge that, if it is technically possible to abolish unemployment, to acquiesce in the continuance of so monstrous an evil is for Christians *sin*.

The question of getting rid of unemployment and at the same time preserving a free society is one of the large moral issues on which this country will have to reach a practical decision in the near future.

The issues raised in the present paper cannot be decided without widening the discussion to include the larger question of the relation of Christianity to the social order, about which there are wide differences among Christians. The presentation of two different Christian points of view in regard to Full Employment and the attempt to relate them rightly to one another may lead us to the deeper issues involved and bring some clarification where there is now confusion.

Yours sincerely,



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FULL EMPLOYMENT AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CHRISTIANS

Throughout the whole period between the two wars, out of every hundred persons in this country registered as potential workers, fourteen on average were unemployed and only once (in 1929) were less than ten unemployed. The total number of the unemployed reached $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions in March, 1921, and rose to $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions about the middle of that year. The number then gradually fell to the neighbourhood of $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions and, except in 1926, stayed at about that level from 1923 to 1929. Thereafter the number increased to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in just over one year and did not fall below that figure till the middle of 1933, after which it declined steadily to under $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions in the middle of 1937. The worst feature of this unemployment was the fact that the number of unemployed who had been without work continuously for a year or longer became an increasingly large proportion of the total: in fact it rose from 14 per cent to 22 per cent between the two wars. During this same period mass unemployment reached appalling dimensions in the United States of America; in 1938, for example, 10 million people, or 18 per cent of the potential workers in the country, were out of a job. In Germany there were 6 million unemployed, or one-third of the total labour force, when Hitler came to power in 1933.

MASS UNEMPLOYMENT NOT INEVITABLE

If any Christian is prepared to maintain that this unemployment was not an evil which he had a responsibility to mitigate or eradicate if he could, the onus of proof lies on him to make out his case. On the face of it no argument is required to show that all of us citizens who professed also to be Christians were deeply to blame for our part in the failure to prevent mass unemployment of the kind that we had before this war. Quite apart from the poverty and malnutrition that resulted from it, the great majority of our fellow citizens lived in a state of fear of unemployment even when they were in work and, at any given time, 14 per cent of them were subjected to the frustration of apparently not being wanted as workers at all and to the humiliation of feeling outcasts from the community. Before the war, however, our sense of guilt was numbed by the assumption that the problem of mass unemployment was insoluble and that there was at least very little that individual Christians could do about it.

The Soviet Government could and did claim that mass unemployment was unknown in Communist Russia. Hitler claimed that by 1938 mass unemployment had disappeared from National Socialist Germany. But in our own country also some economists (notably J. M. Keynes) were expounding during the inter-war period, with increasing confidence and with a widening circle of assent, the view that mass unemployment could be avoided without sacrificing the essentials of freedom or of our democratic ideals if all concerned with the management of our economic affairs had the courage and wisdom to apply certain principles of policy. And in May, 1944, when the Government published a White Paper (Cmd. 6527) on Employment Policy the leaders of all the main political parties announced thereby to Parliament and to all of us that they were unanimous in broadly accepting the views of economists about the avoidability of mass unemployment. They went further and accepted (for the first time in this country) as one of the primary aims and responsibilities of the Government "the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment after the war." They outlined in the White Paper the policy which they proposed to follow in pursuit of that aim and specified the half-dozen formidable conditions on which, in their view, the aim can be achieved.

More recently Sir William Beveridge, in his "Full Employment in a Free Society," has given reasons for regarding this White Paper as "a milestone in economic and political history," and has himself made a memorable contribution towards the formulation of practical measures for achieving full employment—in the sense of ensuring that there are always more vacant jobs than idle men ("more or about as many") and that those who lose jobs are able to "find new jobs at fair wages within their capacity, without delay."

Now, therefore, the position is that not only all reputable economists, but the leading politicians of all parties agree that we have no excuse in future for quieting our consciences by the assumption that mass unemployment is inevitable in the free and democratic society which we want ours to be, and that if we let mass unemployment reappear in Britain, it will be a failure rather of the heart than of the head.

Thus we are challenged by economists and politicians to reconsider our duty to our neighbour in respect of his employment in much the same way as we are challenged by the experts on food and agriculture to reconsider our duty to our neighbour in respect of his daily bread. For in the first of the resolutions passed by the Hot Springs Conference of 1943 the representatives of forty-four nations unanimously declared (and Mr. Eden, on behalf of the

British Government, has publicly accepted all the recommendations of the Conference in so far as they apply to conditions in the United Kingdom): "There has never been enough food for the health of all people. This is justified neither by ignorance nor by the harshness of nature. Production of food must be greatly expanded; we now have knowledge of the means by which this can be done. It requires imagination and firm will on the part of each government and people to make use of that knowledge."

THE RELEVANCE OF THIS FACT FOR CHRISTIANS

What is the relevance of this for us as Christians?

First, we must recognize that in this matter of employment policy we in Britain have now tasted—at least tentatively—the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Just as any extension of medical knowledge lays on the Christian a new duty to his neighbour, and this duty is not discharged until the benefits of the new knowledge are made generally available at whatever cost it may be necessary for society to pay, so now each one of us in varying degrees has an opportunity which we never had before of contributing towards the creation of conditions under which our neighbours will have the chance of finding the right job; and by the same token, each one of us in varying degrees runs a new risk of sin, for from now onwards we shall be sharing in a sin against the light if mass unemployment reappears.

Secondly, therefore, we should give thanks that this new light has appeared among us, mediated by the genius of certain economic thinkers, and that it has been comprehended, at least in part, by the politicians and administrators.

Thirdly, we should face the terrific difficulties that lie athwart the working out of the new policy in practice. All that has happened as yet is that the politicians have broadly accepted the theory of the economists as worth trying out in practice as the principle of public policy. But this theory is not a specific discovery like penicillin, which has only to be accepted and applied for the cure to follow. Rather, it is a strategic plan, of which the general soundness is now substantially agreed. But about the particular tactics required for its success a whole series of most difficult decisions will have to be taken from time to time, and there are, and no doubt always will be, wide differences of opinion among men of goodwill. And apart from these questions of ways and means, the strategy itself is an exceedingly complicated one which has never been tried before in any society that is determined to have freedom and preserve its democratic traditions as well as being "fully employed."

Nor is it a policy which can be made effective by the Government alone. On the contrary, it calls for contributions from industrialists, workpeople, the ordinary citizen and the local self-governing authorities, and such contributions can only be made if the contributors sustain and develop a sense of common purpose, a determination to make that purpose effective, and a degree of self-discipline and self-confidence which this country has never yet shown except in time of war. Furthermore, the success of the policy is partly dependent upon effective collaboration among the nations. The White Paper states, in the foreword: "The Government are therefore seeking to create, through collaboration between the nations, conditions of international trade which will make it possible for all countries to pursue policies of full employment to their mutual advantage." And again, at the beginning of the first chapter: "It is therefore an essential part of the Government's employment policy to co-operate actively with other nations, in the first place for the re-establishment of general economic stability after the shocks of war, and next for the progressive expansion of trade. The aims of this international co-operation are to promote the beneficial exchange of goods and services between nations, to ensure reasonably stable rates of exchange, and to check the swings in world commodity prices which alternately inflate and destroy the incomes of the primary producers of foodstuffs and raw materials." Here is a challenge to the capacity of our own and other sovereign States to work together, more formidable than the challenge to which the Allies have not always found it easy to respond even in time of war, when palpable and imminent danger has given them an interest in successful collaboration which can be appreciated with much less effort of intelligence and imagination than will be required in time of peace.

Fourthly, therefore, if we believe that these difficulties must be not only faced but overcome, we must decide to treat the achievement of full employment (however much we may differ about the tactics that should be used to carry out the strategic plan) as something in the nature of a Holy War which can be won only if in our own and other nations there is generated, sustained and nourished a crusading spirit of which we as Christians dare to believe that we have the secret.

SOME FEATURES OF THE WHITE PAPER POLICY

To illustrate what this will mean in practice, let us now consider certain features of the employment policy sketched in the Government White Paper.

The first condition that must be satisfied is the maintenance of total national expenditure, both by investors and consumers, at a high level, so that there is always an effective demand for all the goods and services that a fully employed nation chooses to produce. And for this purpose various things must be done.

By concerted action between the Treasury, the Bank of England and the Joint Stock Banks, variations in the rate of interest will be used to influence the volume of capital expenditure. What changes, if any, will be needed in the past practice of these institutions to achieve the necessary concert of action ?

Private enterprise will be encouraged to expand or contract its own capital expenditure in accordance with a general policy. Success will here depend on continuous collaboration between business men and Government officials and, more indirectly, on the attitude of shareholders to their boards of directors. Will the business men be able and willing to reconcile the interests of their companies with the public interest, and will the necessary measure of intelligent forethought and of mutual confidence between them and the Government be forthcoming ? How much of the freedom that goes with private enterprise will have to be sacrificed in order to ensure that the general policy is carried out ? For example, should basic industries (such as mining and power supply) be taken out of the " private sector " and brought under public control ?

Capital expenditure by the Government and by local and other public authorities will be timed to offset such swings in private investment as cannot be prevented, and the Government will set a target for the volume of public work each year. This means that city councils will have to consider not only the interests of their own citizens, but the wider interest of the nation as interpreted by the central Government. Here therefore is a new responsibility for councillors and local Government officials and, at one remove, for everyone who has a vote in municipal elections. How much of the traditional freedom of local self-governing authorities will have to be sacrificed ?

The second condition that must be satisfied is the avoidance of inflation. The essence of the new employment policy is that we deliberately run the risk of inflation and rely on our courage and good sense to save us from that danger. The Government may at any moment be faced with the alternatives of allowing inflation to develop or abandoning their employment policy. They will escape that dilemma only if employers and organized labour continuously

act with a high sense of public responsibility. The whole policy will be frustrated unless wage increases are related only to increased output per head and employers look to larger output rather than higher prices for the reward of enterprise and good management. Moreover, in so far as the Government policy is successful the number of vacant jobs will tend to be larger than the number of people wanting work. Trade Unions will, therefore, be under a strong temptation to ask for higher wages and employers will be under a hardly less strong temptation to offer higher wages in order to outbid their competitors. Will both sides in industry find sufficient public spirit to prefer the success of the general employment policy to their own particular interests?

The third condition concerns the distribution of industry. Special measures will have to be taken to ensure the maintenance of employment in areas where unemployment was serious before the war because they depended on declining export trades, such as cotton and coal, or on heavy industries which had been greatly expanded during the last war. The character of these measures, and the extent to which it will be necessary to limit the freedom of individual business men in order to ensure the success of the policy, will largely depend on the readiness of industry to respond to the guidance and inducements offered by the Government. How much will the freedom of private enterprise need to be curtailed if the economic life of areas (like South Wales) where the danger of unemployment was specially great before the war is to be sufficiently diversified by the development of new industries? To what extent will industrialists have to be forbidden to start new business in a particular district? Again, will the people of say Birmingham or the London area, which were comparatively prosperous before the war, seek, through fear of losing their own prosperity, to hinder the policy of encouraging industrial development in areas like South Wales? Or, on the contrary, will they have sufficient confidence in the soundness and practicability of the new employment policy to recognize that they have a common interest in securing that South Wales is fully employed and therefore able to provide an additional market for the goods produced in Birmingham and London?

The fourth condition is closely connected with the third. It concerns the mobility of labour. In any lively and creative society economic changes will always be going on, with new industries starting up, new processes replacing the old and new ways of meeting consumers' demands appearing. "If," says the White Paper (para. 55) "short-term unemployment arising from such causes is to be reduced to a minimum, every individual must exercise to the

full his own initiative in adapting himself to changing circumstances." And however successful the Government and industrialists may be in "taking the work to the men" it would be criminal optimism to expect that people will always be able to find work in the place of their choice or work of a kind for which they do not need new training. It is not only the individual worker that will here be affected. Trade Unions, through fear of unemployment and in the interest of particular sections of the working population, have in the past done much to limit the number of persons possessed of a particular skill and restrict entry to particular callings. In future will they have such confidence in the capacity and willingness of Government and employers to do their part in making the new policy work that they on their side will be prepared to modify their practices and no longer restrict the flow of labour from one occupation to another?

CONCLUSIONS

These are only a few of the questions that will arise in practice if an attempt is made to carry out the new employment policy, but they suggest certain conclusions that we ought as Christians to draw.

First, full employment by itself is not enough. We must strive for it, and if we fail to achieve it we shall stand convicted of sin against our neighbour. But even if we succeed in contriving that there is always an effective demand for all the goods and services that the fully employed nation does in fact produce, we shall have failed to discharge our duty to our neighbour unless the goods and services produced are what they ought to be and not merely what consumers are prepared to take or the Government is prepared to order for the sake of keeping the population employed. That the productive resources of the nation, in men and materials, should be fully employed is a good and necessary objective of public policy: failure to achieve it, as we did before the war, is an evil from which this country must be delivered after the war, as it has been delivered during the war. But *how* should those productive resources be employed? There is an almost infinite variety of possible answers to that question, and decisions about the order of priority in which different kinds of goods and services (houses, schools, factories, goods for export, goods for human consumption and so on) should draw on our productive resources will have to be taken day by day. There are two main ways in which these decisions will be taken: by consumers' choice (in other words, by the way we spend our private incomes) and by public policy (determined by the Government of

the day, by Parliament, and by local authorities and other public corporations that exist, or may be created, for the control of affairs outside the range of private enterprise). The new employment policy itself is "neutral" in relation to these decisions. While, therefore, we must do everything in our power to make that policy work, we must do more than that. At every stage and all the time we must do what we can to secure that the right decisions are taken about the purposes which full employment is to serve and the nature of the "welfare" it is to produce. As Christians we have no right to rest until the one criterion on which all such decisions are taken, whether by individuals or by the State, is found in the concept of fullness of life for all men, as sons of the one Father and as friends for whom Christ died.

The second conclusion is this. The new employment policy will only work if miracles of daring, mutual confidence, public spirit, intelligence and self-discipline are daily wrought by ordinary men and women in many different walks of life. As Christians we claim to have a reasonable and dynamic faith in the possibility of just such miracles as these. We assert that to say "Human nature can't be changed" is a silly and superficial lie. We believe that fear can be conquered and that men who have naturally distrusted one another under the influence of fear can learn to work together for a common purpose even in peace time. But we are not so foolish as to suppose that such things happen easily or without the grace of God, and we claim to hold, however precariously, the clue to the apprehension of that grace. We have, therefore, an immense responsibility to contribute, each according to his particular calling and ability, to the success of the new policy at precisely the points where it will be in gravest danger of breaking down; where the difficulties are not predominantly technical but moral and can be overcome only if a trade union (for example) or an industrialist has the courage to act differently from the way in which he would have acted before the war.

In particular, it is in influencing the behaviour of people as citizens, and their general attitude to the State, that we might make a contribution of this kind. If people continue to think of the Government as "them," and something separate from "us," the increased responsibility for economic affairs that the State must accept under the new employment policy will heighten the sense of separation between "them" and "us," and the individual will feel that his freedom and sense of responsibility have been proportionately diminished. Again, the new partnership between private enterprise and the State which employment policy demands will never be

consummated unless business men abandon the mixed feelings of fear and contempt with which they may have regarded the State in the past. As Christians we should think of the State as an instrument of our will (whether good or evil) as citizens, judge it ruthlessly by its fruit, and seek to use it as a means of grace. In the new employment policy the State has an indispensable part to play; without it we cannot hope to do our duty to our neighbours, whom before the war we allowed to be subjected in millions to the fear and hatred and frustration that mass unemployment breeds. As Christians, therefore, we might here exercise our citizenship with the following special ends in view: to break down the sense of remoteness between Government and people; to recognize, and help others to recognize, the responsibility of individuals for making the Government do the right thing (especially when, as will often happen if the dangers of a "boom" are to be avoided, the right thing is unpopular and calls for a courageous decision), and for collaborating with Government officials in matters (such as capital investment by private companies) where close consultation has not been usual in the past, but is essential to the success of the new policy; to insist that machines (including money) are made to serve man and not man to serve machines; and to be watchful that, when it appears that the public interest requires the further restriction of individual freedom (because, for example, monopolists, combines or trade unions are themselves restricting freedom and thus frustrating employment policy), the State is not deterred by squeamishness from exercising compulsion.

Finally, in so far as the new employment policy succeeds workpeople will no longer have the old incentives (for example, fear) for working as hard as they ought. And business men may have less inclination to take risks or exercise creative ingenuity. No Christian can seriously regard this prospect with dismay, or feel nostalgia for a time when society relied largely on fear to get its work done. But no Christian should blink the fact that new and ardent incentives will have to be found. As the compulsory idleness of unemployment passes, a way appears whereby both leisure and work may (but of course will not necessarily) become more fruitful, because in neither work nor leisure is man under the same compulsion that he was before. What use he makes of his new freedom will depend, as always, on his readiness or unreadiness to claim his birthright as a son of God and find his life by losing it in service.

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